

New Victims of Modern Warfare: Elephants

Their Numbers Dwindle Across Africa as Automatic Weapons Spread

By Jay Ross

Washington Post Service

MURCHISON FALLS NATIONAL PARK, Uganda — The AK-47 rifle, symbol of Africa's independence struggles, wars and revolutions, is causing a less-known revolution for the continent's elephants, threatening in some cases to wipe them out of whole countries.

Widespread availability of weapons, the residue of a decade of chaos and war in Uganda, has been largely responsible for the death of all but about 20 of the 9,000 elephants that once roamed the southern part of this game park along the Nile River.

"In the 1960s and early 1970s, we never considered the possibility that automatic weapons would be used," says Iain Douglas-Hamilton, an authority on the animals. "We only thought of it as a horror scenario."

Ivory poaching, he said, accounts for the deaths of 50,000 to 150,000 elephants a year. He estimated that probably only a million elephants are left on the continent.

Although vast numbers have been killed in Zaire, Zambia and Kenya, nowhere has the slaughter been more devastating than in Uganda. Between 1970 and 1980, 90 percent of the elephants were killed, reducing the population in the country from 30,000 to 2,000 in the best-documented extermination in Africa.

But Frank Poppleton, a British conservationist who heads a United Nations anti-poaching project in Uganda, said a census car-

ried out between June and September shows that the population has "stabilized" at 2,000. In 1980, Mr. Douglas-Hamilton, who carried out the two censuses, said he saw more dead elephants than live ones. In the latest census, he did not see the carcasses of any recently killed elephants, he said.

Mr. Poppleton attributed the dramatic reduction in poaching to the concern of the government for reviving tourism and to the \$1-million anti-poaching project of the UN Development Program, which has led to the stationing of about 100 Ugandan rangers in each of the country's three game parks.

The problem in Uganda has been greed: Ivory can bring more than \$30 per pound overseas, and a large elephant's tusks can easily weigh 200 pounds.

The herds were depleted twice by dictator

Idi Amin's army, first by high-ranking officers who organized a lucrative poaching trade and then by the deprivations of the soldiers as they retreated to Sudan and Zaire when Mr. Amin was overthrown in 1979. Most of the killings came after Mr. Amin was deposed, in poaching by soldiers of the Tanzanian Army and the Uganda National Liberation Army.

Kidepo National Park, whose northern boundary forms the border with Sudan, is the one park where poaching has still not been brought under control, although the situation is brighter since armed clashes between rangers and the Sudanese Army ended almost a year ago.

Until last December, Sudanese Army patrols regularly crossed into the park to poach. When the Ugandan Army was called in to halt the poaching, the Sudanese troops killed two Ugandan soldiers and a ranger. A Sudanese soldier was killed in a ranger ambush last December.

Diplomatic efforts early this year by the United States, a major arms supplier to Sudan, brought an end to most of the incidents. The rangers and Sudanese troops have regular meetings to iron out problems, Mr. Douglas-Hamilton said.

Before Mr. Amin, Uganda's parks were self-supporting because of revenues from tourism. In 1970, Murchison Falls had almost 60,000 foreign tourists. Last year, fewer than 8,000 people visited the park, most of them Ugandans.

The foreign tourists will come back with the elephants and security in the countryside, said Fred Kayamya, chairman of the National Parks Board, adding, "There is no doubt in my mind that with regard to elephants we are past the stage of holding our own. I've flown over the three parks and I've seen baby elephants. At one time you didn't see any."

It is a long road back, however. The Uganda Airlines 1982 calendar shows two gigantic elephants, the kind with tusks of 100 pounds or more. The picture would have been fine in a 1972 calendar. No such elephants exist in Uganda today.



Police in Butzbach, West Germany, examine a U.S. soldier's car after a bomb exploded.

GI Wounded in West German Bombing

The Associated Press

FRANKFURT — A U.S. soldier in Butzbach was seriously wounded Tuesday when a bomb planted under the seat of his car exploded and set the vehicle afire in the 58th attack against U.S. interests in West Germany this year, police and army spokesmen said.

He was reported in stable condition at a U.S. Army hospital in Frankfurt, where an Army spokesman said he was undergoing treatment for leg and internal injuries.

The spokesman said that identical bombs were used in the two attacks. He quoted an explosives expert as saying that the devices were similar to a fire extinguisher bomb found last month in a 26-story apartment building housing U.S. soldiers and their families just outside Frankfurt.

That bomb, planted under a car, was spotted and the building evacuated while explosives experts defused it.

"In each case, identical two-

kilogram [4.4-pound] fire extinguishers, explosives, nine-volt batteries and a pressure plate were used," the spokesman said. He called the pressure plate "an on-off switch" to detonate the bomb.

"This little device was placed on the front seat under the seat cover. When the person sits down, it activates it. Both cars involved in Tuesday's attacks had seat covers on the front seat," he said.

A West German police officer said both cases were under investigation by the Karlsruhe federal prosecutor's office responsible for terrorist cases. The Bonn government condemned the attacks and offered a reward of 50,000 marks (\$20,000) for information leading to capture of the bombers.

Lisbon Chief Flies to U.S.

For Meetings

Post-Election Changes Rejected by Balsemão

Reuters

LISBON — Prime Minister Francisco Pinto Balsemão of Portugal flew to the United States on Tuesday, leaving behind a political row over his rightist coalition government's poor showing in local elections.

Mr. Balsemão, looking tired after a 10-hour overnight discussion of the election with his Social Democratic Party colleagues, said his talks with U.S. leaders would include the renegotiation of the U.S. lease of the Lajes Air Base in the Azores Islands.

"The situation in southern Africa, the Middle East and East-West relations will also figure" in the talks, Mr. Balsemão said on his departure.

Following the marathon party executive meeting, Mr. Balsemão said early Tuesday the party had reaffirmed its confidence in his Democratic Alliance government in spite of losses to the Socialist Party in Sunday's elections.

Spokesmen for the Socialists, who won more than 30 percent of the vote for the first time since 1976, said the result showed a lack of confidence in Mr. Balsemão personally and called for his resignation and early general elections.

Mr. Balsemão's alliance partners presented a united front Tuesday, with the Center Democratic Party leader, Diogo Freitas do Amaral, and the leader of the tiny People's Monarchist Party, Gonçalo Ribeiro Teles, turning up at the airport to see him off.

But political sources said Mr. Balsemão, a liberal who has many opponents in the alliance, will be under severe pressure to make changes. A communiqué issued after the Social Democratic meeting rejected any call for changes in the makeup of the coalition.

Alliance leaders are not scheduled to meet until next week, after Mr. Balsemão returns from his three-day visit and after a meeting of the Social Democratic national council this weekend.

Mr. Balsemão is to meet in Washington with President Ronald Reagan, Vice President George Bush and Defense Secretary Casper W. Weinberger.

Economic and aid issues will figure high in the discussions. Portugal, Western Europe's poorest country, is a founding member of NATO and a long-standing U.S. ally.

The ministers of finance and foreign affairs and the secretary of state for defense are in Mr. Balsemão's party, which also includes the president of the Azores regional assembly.

WORLD BRIEFS

Italy Was Unable to Hold Bulgarian

ROME (AP) — The Foreign Ministry acknowledged Tuesday that it had been unable to revoke the diplomatic immunity of a Bulgarian official implicated in the shooting of Pope John Paul II in time to keep him from leaving Italy.

The confirmation came in a detailed report by the ministry on efforts to capture Bulgarians who reportedly helped plan and support the May 1981 attempt on the pope's life by Mehmet Ali Agca, a Turk.

The report said the ministry, acting at the request of investigators, summoned the Bulgarian ambassador in Rome on Nov. 26 and asked him to revoke the immunity of Teodoro Ayavazov, an embassy cashier. It said the ambassador refused to do so and notified the ministry Dec. 6 that Mr. Ayavazov had been recalled to Bulgaria "because of the end of his mission."

Electric-Power Failure Snarls Quebec

MONTRÉAL (Reuters) — A power failure affected much of Quebec province Tuesday, causing traffic problems in Montreal and depriving more than 6 million people of electricity.

Provincial power authorities, who said they hoped to restore power within two hours, blamed the stoppage on a switching problem at one of their substations near Quebec City.

In near-freezing temperatures, firemen rushed around Montreal rescuing people stranded in elevators. Commuters had to be evacuated from the underground railway system after trains, using emergency generators, crawled into stations. Banks and department stores closed their doors and traffic on main streets ground to a halt as traffic signals failed.

U.K. to Replace Military Equipment

LONDON (UPI) — The government said Tuesday it is ordering more than £1 billion (\$1.6 billion) worth of ships, aircraft and military equipment for the armed forces, mainly to replace losses suffered in the Falklands conflict.

Defense Secretary John Nott told Parliament that the new warships will be six frigates costing nearly £600 million to replace two destroyers and two frigates sunk in the South Atlantic. He said the government plans to maintain a permanent force of 50 destroyers and frigates in the navy.

Mr. Nott said that six Lockheed Tristar aircraft would be bought from state-owned British Airways to be converted to air tankers for the Royal Air Force.

10 Philippine Journalists Are Freed

MANILA (AP) — President Ferdinand E. Marcos ordered the temporary release Tuesday of 10 Philippine journalists who were being held on charges of conspiring to overthrow him.

Lawyers for Jose G. Burgos Jr., editor-publisher of the opposition newspaper *We Forum*, and his nine staffers said they hoped that Mr. Marcos would also drop the charges against them and allow their shutdown newspaper to resume publishing. The journalists have been held since Dec. 7, when troops raided the offices of *We Forum*, which had published articles critical of the Marcos government.

The presidential palace announcement said Mr. Marcos ordered the "temporary release under house arrest" of the journalists to enable them to prepare for trial and "in the spirit of the Christmas and New Year holiday season." The subversion charge is punishable by death.

France to Try for Cambodia Solution

KUALA LUMPUR, Malaysia (Reuters) — France pledged Tuesday to step up efforts to seek a political solution to the conflict in Cambodia.

Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy said before leaving for Paris at the end of a three-day visit that Prime Minister Dato Seri Mahathir Mohammed of Malaysia had asked France to use its relationship with Vietnam to help reach a settlement.

"I replied that France is certainly ready in the framework of the new relationship between Malaysia and France to do all it can to further a settlement of issues," Mr. Mauroy said.

For the Record

SAO PAULO (UPI) — Federal and military police raided a secret national convention of the Brazilian Communist Party Monday, arresting 84 persons, including most of the party leaders, the police said.

ANCONA, Italy (AP) — A landslide caused by heavy rains tumbled through this Adriatic coast city Tuesday, collapsing at least 300 homes and forcing 2,000 residents to flee. Nobody was reported injured.

South Africa Actively Courting Arms Clients

By Joseph Lelyveld

New York Times Service

PRETORIA — In the five years that South Africa has been the target of a mandatory United Nations arms embargo, its shopping forays in the international arms market have by necessity been clandestine. Now, in hopes of drumming up enough business to help sustain its own growing armaments industry, it is eagerly calling attention to its readiness to deal

from the other side of the counter as a seller.

Pieter Marais, the chairman of the Armaments Corp. of South Africa, usually called Armscor, acknowledged in an interview there had been no firm orders yet for a 155mm howitzer called the G-5 that was displayed as an example of South Africa's military technology at an arms show in Athens in October. But he said he was encouraged by the inquiries.

Mr. Marais, who introduces himself as a farmer and small-town businessman, has a paneled office adjacent to that of Defense Minister Magnus Malan in the Armscor headquarters here and a confidential relationship with Prime Minister Pieter W. Botha.

The state-owned corporation he heads is now commonly described as the third-largest industrial group in South Africa, with 26,000 employees and production this year officially valued at about \$1.4 billion, roughly 70 percent of which is said to have been handled by private South African concerns.

According to Mr. Marais, local production currently fulfills about 85 percent of South Africa's armaments needs. A military white paper published in April said the country had become fully self-sufficient in artillery guns and rockets, armored and other operational vehicles as well as arms, ammunition and land mines.

Arms exports appear to have slumped after South Africa lost its best customer when Rhodesia became Zimbabwe. This year, they amounted to only about \$9 million, according to published fig-

ures. But the goal is to increase them by at least 15 times in the next two years, primarily through sales of the G-5 field gun. In a recently unveiled version called the G-6, the weapon also comes mounted on a six-wheeled armored vehicle that can go about 55 mph (88 kilometers per hour).

"Technology does not have a shelf life," Mr. Marais said, emphasizing the need to obtain orders before other producers offer weapons with similar abilities. "We will

70 Guards Killed In Iran, Kurds Say

Reuters

LONDON — Heavy gun battles have erupted between the Revolutionary Guard and Kurdish guerrillas in the northwestern Iranian town of Mahabad, a Kurdish source said Tuesday. He said 70 guardsmen were killed.

The source, a spokesman for the Paris office of the Kurdish Democratic Party, claimed that only three rebels were killed in the fighting, which lasted three days.

He said the guerrillas, armed with rocket launchers, had attacked seven government buildings, including the Revolutionary Guard's local headquarters.

Heavy snow impeded efforts by the Tehran government to send reinforcements, the spokesman said. He said the attacks had been planned to coincide with elections for an assembly of experts charged with choosing a successor for Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, the Iranian leader.

The Armascor chief did not answer directly when asked whether the corporation had been hiring experienced Western arms salesmen for the new marketing branch it has set up to break into the highly competitive arms market.

"I won't say that's out," he said, "but we would want them to be a part of our organization. We are not very keen to work through gunrunners and agents."

Israel Reported To Delay Sharing War Data With U.S.

New York Times Service

TEL AVIV — Israel is withholding information from the United States about military lessons gained from its invasion of Lebanon until Washington agrees to certain conditions demanded by Israel, according to officials in Tel Aviv.

Israeli sources said a stumbling block was a clause in the agreement requiring that Israel consent before the United States passes on information to North Atlantic Treaty Organization countries or other third parties.

The Pentagon was also said to be balky at a provision that Israeli experts accompany captured equipment sent to the United States to observe any tests and that the U.S. conclusions be shared with Israel.

In fighting against the Syrian Army in Lebanon, Israeli forces destroyed some of the most sophisticated Soviet weapons, including MiG-25 jet fighters, T-72 tanks and SAM missiles.

OAU Officials to Meet In Nairobi on Summit

Reuters

NAIROBI — Senior officials of the Organization of African Unity arrived here Tuesday for talks with President Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya on ways to reconvene the organization's twice-aborted 19th summit conference.

Edem Kodjo of Togo, the OAU secretary-general, said that he would consult with President Moi, the current OAU chairman, on ways out of the deadlock. The summit has twice been abandoned in Tripoli, Libya, because of disputes over the Western Sahara and Chad.

Lebanon Fears a War Unless Invaders Leave

By Bernard Weinraub

New York Times Service

BEIRUT — Rival Moslem sects carried on their war for dominance of Tripoli on Tuesday, and five more persons were killed and 12 wounded in new barrages of rocket and mortar fire, police said.

Police said the latest deaths and injuries occurred as pro-Syrian Alawite Moslems and Palestinian-backed Sunni Moslems battled with artillery, rockets and mortars in the northern port city's slum neighborhoods for an eighth straight day.

According to the police, 51 persons have died and another 153 have been wounded since last

Tuesday in Tripoli, Lebanon's second largest city.

In the central mountains, police said a cease-fire reached by Christian and Druze local commanders Monday evening held through the night in the town of Aley and five adjacent villages southeast of Beirut.

Lebanon's state and privately owned radios said joint patrols reopened the Beirut-Damascus international highway and all roads in the Aley region to traffic Tuesday after a five-day Israeli-imposed curfew was lifted in Aley.

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Lisbon
Flies to
For Mees
Post-Electoral
Rejected by
Reagan

Pentagon Deploys Densely Packed Lingo to Defend MX

By George C. Wilson
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The "dense pack" deployment scheme for the MX missile is so complex and futuristic it requires a new vocabulary for Pentagon briefers to explain it.

"They have been using terms like 'threat tube' for the path of incoming missiles, 'ejecta' for the boulders and dirt that would be thrown up if Soviet warheads exploded on the Wyoming prairie, and 'sequential dumping' for plans to place tons of rock on the MX silos to make 'low grazing' Soviet missiles skip off flat stones skittering across a pond."

Under the dense pack proposal, which is supported by President Ronald Reagan, 100 MX missiles would be grouped in a north-south rectangle 14 miles long and 1.5 miles wide (22 kilometers by 2.4 kilometers). Soviet missiles would have to fly through a narrow corridor to hit

the formation, which would be built outside Wyoming Air Force Base near Cheyenne, Wyoming.

The threat tube is a narrow, "air force MX" special assistant, Richard D. DeLoach, Pentagon research director, is explaining the plan. If the Soviet warheads "got out to the side," he said, "they don't get anything."

If a Soviet warhead exploded over the MX field in an effort to damage the silos, the radiation would destroy or deflect succeeding Soviet warheads, advocates of the plan say.

To avoid this, critics contend, the Russians could use a single, 25-megaton warhead set to explode at ground level and dig out the MX missiles. A megaton has the force of one million tons of TNT.

"For ground bursts, the detonation raises ejecta, which consists of large boulders, some of them larger than a Volkswagen,

that are thrown up and ejected out of the crater," said Brigadier General J. P. McCarthy, who is the air force MX special assistant.

He told the House military appropriations subcommittee that such an explosion also would create a dust storm that could grind off the noses of subsequent warheads, making them miss the MX silos.

But, General McCarthy was asked, would that debris not get in the way of MX missiles as they tried to fly out of their silos in a retaliatory strike?

"The MX missile is starting close to the ground at near zero speed," the general answered in the briefing, which recently was made public. "It is not going to withstand Volkswagen-size boulders, but [it could withstand] the dust and debris."

To determine if surviving MX missiles could get through the ejecta after an attack, the air

force said it might first launch a small test missile and monitor its flight.

Critics have also noted that a nuclear explosion in or near the field could bury MX silos under tons of debris.

But George A. Keyworth, President Reagan's science adviser, discounted that problem during a recent Pentagon news briefing. "It's really a straightforward thing when you think of how extreme. . . . Once this [MX] structure is in sight, it can fly through up to 50 feet of debris and rock," he said. "It does not require a complicated auster or boomer mechanism."

Government and military officials have acknowledged that the Russians could attempt to "pin down" MX missiles by exploding one warhead after another over the missile field in rapid succession. Air force planners contend this would require too many warheads, given all the other U.S. land missiles and bombers that would have to target.

It has also been suggested that the Russians might set their warheads to explode after they had burrowed into the earth around the MX silos. But Mr. Keyworth said such "earth penetrators" flying in at 5,000 mph, could be inexpensively countered by spreading layers of rocks over the MX field.

An air force general said the Soviet warheads would fly into the MX field at such a shallow angle that they would bounce off the rocks.

This skipping effect in turn could be avoided by the Russians if the warheads were equipped with parachutes to soften their landings. But Mr. Keyworth said anti-aircraft guns could shoot down such "soft landers." He added that anti-ballistic missiles could be deployed to cover the threat tube.

UN Asks Major Powers to Freeze Nuclear Arms' Output, Deployment

By Bernard D. Nossiter
New York Times Service

UNITED NATIONS, New York — Against opposition from the United States and its European allies, the General Assembly has called on the major powers to freeze the output and emplacement of nuclear weapons.

The votes, on two companion resolutions, were 122-16 with six abstentions and 119-17 with five abstentions.

They came against a background of mounting demands in the West from political leaders and citizens' groups for a halt to the buildup in nuclear stockpiles.

Monday's result, some envs said, is likely to have more effect in strengthening the pressure for a freeze as a political issue in the West than in influencing the course of arms negotiations.

During the debates, Western diplomats argued that a freeze would give the Soviet Union an unfair advantage because it has been building up its missiles in Europe. Third World nations and the Soviet Union, however, contended that a rough equality now existed in the nuclear strengths of NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

Disarmament experts said the two resolutions were the most pointed in the long history of UN efforts to end the nuclear spiral.

The West German delegate,

Henning Wegener, spelled out the Western concern.

"In Europe," he said, "the Soviet Union, without any corresponding arms development on the Western side, has in the last couple of years deployed many hundreds of nuclear warheads. The difficulty with freeze in the absence of approximate parity is that it would amount to unilateral disarmament and codify the superiority of one side at an arbitrarily chosen moment."

For the Soviet Union, Viktor L. Isayev said a freeze would be a first step toward reducing stockpiles.

"Parity still exists today in the areas of strategic and other nuclear weapons," he argued. The Western contention that there is a gap is "a cover-up" for an unjustified buildup of nuclear weapons in the U.S.

The 17 nations that opposed the resolution on a freeze by the two superpowers were: Australia, Belgium, Britain, Canada, France, West Germany, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey and the United States. All but Japan, which abstained, voted against the resolution on a five-power freeze.

Japanese Urged to Beware of Spies After KGB Ex-Agent's Revelations

By Spencer Rich
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The government has warned the Japanese people to beware of Soviet attempts to recruit them as spies after a former Soviet agent alleged that Moscow controlled Japan's main opposition party in the 1970s.

The case is also likely to have a negative effect on Japanese-Soviet relations just when they were showing signs of thawing.

On Dec. 6, Japan announced that Vladimir M. Kamentsev, the Soviet fisheries minister, would become the first Soviet cabinet minister to visit Tokyo since Japan limited official contacts to protest the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan in December 1979.

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INTERNATIONAL Herald Tribune

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Did the Sanctions Help?

Did the West's sanctions help the Poles? Perhaps, marginally. The anticipation of sanctions could not protect Solidarity from being overwhelmed by a Communist Party aware that it was being swamped by the popular will. But the extra burden that the sanctions imposed on authority, on top of the larger burden imposed by the Polish people themselves, may have hastened the regime's crawl back from full martial law.

To say that, of course, is to acknowledge that harsher Western sanctions, including sanctions imposed not just on Poland but also on the Soviet Union, might have made more of a difference. It is evident, however, that there are limits. Poland's economic crisis and its indebtedness were crippling its economic relations with the West anyway. The indirectness of the Soviet role and the large stake that almost all Europeans have in continuing open relations with Moscow — an economic, political and human stake for which there is no American counterpart — ensured that the West would not be holding Moscow to full account.

Now Gen. Jaruzelski has announced the imminent end of the "main rigors" of martial law. He is not promising much, since he has already taken other measures (new restrictive laws, a new modus vivendi with the church, constant intimidation) to keep the lid on. Therefore there is no good reason for Presi-

dent Reagan to offer much in return by way of lifting American sanctions. No one can be under any illusion that the small sanctions Mr. Reagan keeps on will have much of an impact in Warsaw, especially if the Europeans, as expected, now start to accept Gen. Jaruzelski's contention that it is time to return to normal. Still, there is residual value in making the point and in holding to the Reagan promise that Polish restrictions and American sanctions go hand in hand.

Will anything help the Poles, really help them? They live not between two broad oceans, but, historically, between two jealous neighbors. World War II left the Soviet Union in a position to assert its interests in Poland and the West poorly placed to encourage its values. Poles themselves are ambivalent. They reach out naturally for a strong Western moral and political blessing for their striving for freedom, although that reach and that striving tend to energize the forces of repression in the East. But they see the merit in the common European argument that it is in circumstances of overall East-West détente that Eastern Europe has its best chance, still not a very good chance, to be itself.

Nothing is certain except that Poles know what freedom is and will demand it again. Hard as it will be to satisfy that demand, the West cannot say it has not been warned.

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

No to 'Domestic Content'

"Why not a Datsun made in Detroit?" So ask the newspaper ads taken by the United Automobile Workers to press for the "domestic content" bill coming up in the House of Representatives. The theory of the bill is that by requiring cars sold in the United States to be at least partly made there, Congress would save jobs for Americans. Many congressmen, sympathetic to the plight of unemployed autoworkers and angry at Japan for its protectionist policies, are tempted to go along. It would be a self-defeating mistake.

Forcing big foreign car companies to manufacture in the United States or get out might generate a modest number of jobs in the auto industry, but at a staggering cost to consumers. Worse, it would probably destroy more jobs than it creates, while crippling efforts to make American business more competitive in the world economy.

The UAW bill would require "domestic content" in cars sold in the United States; the more sold, the more American parts and labor required. Thus if Toyota wished to maintain its current sales of 700,000 cars a year, Toyotas would have to be 70-percent "made in U.S.A." Peugeot, by contrast, would be unaffected because its share of the market is small. The overall effect, the UAW contends, would be 800,000 more jobs.

That claim is a wild exaggeration. The estimate offered by the Congressional Budget Office is 38,000. And those 38,000 jobs, the office reckons, would come at great cost. Tens of thousands of jobs in export industries would be lost, either because foreigners would retaliate with their own trade restric-

tions or because foreigners could not earn the dollars needed to buy American.

Consumers would be forced to foot a hefty bill. The Commerce Department estimates that the increase in production costs and reduction in competition would raise car prices by about 10 percent. To put it another way, each job created in the auto industry by domestic content legislation could cost American car buyers about \$10,000 a year.

If domestic content legislation is no solution, what is? A bit of realism on wages could slow the economic tide now engulfing the UAW. An average autoworker earns \$13.15 an hour, not counting fringes, or 53 percent more than a typical industrial worker. Such wages help reduce car sales and encourage manufacturers to introduce robots.

A return to prosperity, aided by less stringent monetary policy, would help, too. Many Americans cannot afford new cars now because interest rates are so high; many others cannot afford to go into debt regardless of interest rates because they fear for their jobs.

The hard truth, though, is that even these short-term steps cannot do much to improve long-term employment in the auto industry. Legislators who are serious about improving the lives of jobless autoworkers should be trying to ease their transition to productive employment. Stoppages measures to preserve jobs in the auto industry are a pointless drain on the rest of the economy and a terrible precedent for other industries under stress. A vote for domestic content would be a vote to kill jobs, not save them.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Other Opinion

After Jaruzelski's Speech

The speech is a masterpiece of calculated ambiguity. The junta leader strives to appear at once tough and mollifying. To those who feel nostalgic for the democratization period 1980-81 and want a second round, he issues a warning that "anarchy will not be tolerated in Poland." But he also tries to appear accommodating: "No one is our adversary unless he chooses to be." Here he echoes the famous words of Janos Kadar six years after the crushing of the Hungarian revolution: "Whoever is not against us is with us."

Can this sort of appeal for reconciliation be heeded? The prime of the Catholic Church is among those who, at the risk of alienating much of the population, have chosen to compromise with reality.

— *Le Monde* (Paris).

Western governments will be right to take a long and measured look at the practical effect of Gen. Jaruzelski's new move, before dropping sanctions. Equally, however, the West has made its point: It did not stay spine to martial law in Poland as it did to the more serious 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia. When the time is right, and that might be early 1983, it should consider resuming talks with Warsaw on official debt.

Lack of a rescheduling agreement has hurt the Polish government by increasing overall business uncertainty, but it has pinched Western governments worse by denying them interest on their loans. Self-interest should be enough to bring Western governments to an agreed position on rescheduling.

— *The Financial Times* (London).

Gen. Jaruzelski's Christmas present for the Polish people is all wrapping with nothing

inside. Martial law is to be "suspended" at the end of the year, but the country will continue to be governed by the military dictatorship. All the main restrictions imposed under martial law, including the banning of Solidarity, will remain in force. Internment as such is to end but will in fact continue, as needed, by other means. Main enterprises will continue to be run by military commissars. Factory-based "trade unions" in some sectors will have a theoretical right to strike, but only if they get permission first.

Taking the most charitable view possible of Gen. Jaruzelski's move, it could be said that he has made a gesture implying that he would like, at some unspecified time in the future, to have improved relations with the Polish people. But not now.

— *The Daily Telegraph* (London).

French Protectionism Charged

French-Swiss economic relations are coming under stress. Matters like the growing harassment of Swiss nationals at the French frontier are of themselves merely pointers, but the restrictive new import procedures introduced for items like cheese are much more serious, as is the French attempt to link price control waivers to increased Swiss investment in the pharmaceuticals field.

Of course these practices affect other countries as well. But France's positive trade balance with Switzerland is bigger than that with any other country, and the Swiss capital market is one of the biggest sources of foreign investment in French industry.

If the French government really wishes to party accusations of protectionism, it will have to take genuine action.

— *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (Zurich).

DEC. 15: FROM OUR PAGES 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1907: Japanese Competition Hurts

LONDON — At the annual meeting of the shareholders of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Co., the president, Sir Thomas Sutherland, declared that the company's trade between Bombay and Japan has been "wiped out as a result of the almost supernatural activity of its Japanese competitors." Even admitting the great qualities of the Japanese, it was difficult to look for such a complete and rapid victory. Before the war with the Russians, the merchant marine of Japan was without importance, but in 1896 two laws were passed, according subsidies to ships built in Japan and chartered by Japanese. Today the Japanese flag is found on all the great trade routes of the Pacific.

1932: Europeans Balk on Debt

WASHINGTON — The State Department has indicated that it will follow a policy of silence toward the decision of the French parliament not to pay the war-debt installment of \$19 million, until it becomes clear that France has defaulted. In London, leaders of all parties endorsed the government's decision to pay the next war-debt installment under reservations as to its eventual allocation. Debate in the Commons was occupied in raking over the history of the last 10 years and in mutual recriminations between politicians who took prominent parts therein. Although Uncle Sam inevitably figured as villain of the piece, it was as one who had sinned more through accident than through design.

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JOHN HAY WHITNEY

Andrea May To See Nicaragua Village On Honduran Border Gets Ready for a War

By Selby S. N.

New York Times Service

SANTO TOMAS DEL NORTE, Nicaragua — The church bells rang furiously and the villagers ran screaming through the trenches across the town square. Within minutes, 60 peasant women, men and boys who formed the "first alarm" of the local militia were standing in formation like trained soldiers clapping War War II "Zecchovak" made rifles.

Although the "test of readiness" was staged for the benefit of visitors, the new bullet holes in the walls of this small border village, 25 miles (200 kilometers) north of Managua, offered evidence that such alarms were also part of real life.

Less than half a mile away, the narrow Guasule River marks the Nicaragua-Honduras border. This frontier, running from the Pacific to the Atlantic coast, is the scene of fighting that the Nicaraguans say has rapidly increased over the last two months.

The Sandinist government of Nicaragua, charging that exiles in the Sandinist government have increased provocations and terrorist actions in recent months, has stepped up the militarization of the northern frontier. On Nov. 3, all five border provinces were declared a "military emergency zone" and placed under direct military rule. In a landscape of low hills that climb into high-wooded mountains, the inhabitants of a string of villages are preparing for full-scale war.

Ostensibly, the border fighting between the Nicaraguans who support the Sandinist government and those who want to overthrow it. But on another level, the conflict also involves the United States and Honduras on one side and Nicaragua and Cuba on the other.

The paramilitary bands of exiled Nicaraguans have been getting some indirect help from the United States, according to U.S. intelligence officials. And although Honduras has repeatedly declared its neutrality, the Nicaraguan government says it has proof that Honduran troops have provided backup and logistic support during the exiles' raids.

The Sandinists on the Nicaraguan side of the border, who were fighting in these same mountains less than four years ago against the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza, now have East European weapons and perhaps as many as 2,000 Cuban military and security advisers.

Virtually every day, government officials said paramilitary groups crossing the border or already

deeper inland carry out hit-and-run actions against farms, bridges, vehicles and patrols in the northeast. The purpose of the raids, as stated by militant anti-Sandinists, is both to harass the government and to draw on discontent and ignite an internal uprising.

The efforts of the rebels to gain support are complicated, according to missionaries working in the area, because they are causing civilian deaths and because their reportedly brutal methods remind Nicaraguans of the national guardsmen under the deposed Somoza regime.

Although the opposition to the Sandinist government abroad is a broad-based coalition including business leaders, supporters of the deposed Somoza and disillusioned former Sandinists, many of the men fighting in the border areas are former members of the defeated national guard.

U.S. Roman Catholic missionaries who frequently visit this border region said the raiders had lately been torturing and mutilating captured peasants or Sandinist sympathizers, creating the same terror as in the past.

Such accounts, which are widely reported by the pro-government Nicaraguan news outlets, hurt the morale of the government.

But the government clampdown against suspected counterrevolutionaries is also creating fear in the countryside, where most of the recent political arrests have been made.

In a recent interview, Sergio Ramirez Mercado, a member of the governing junta, confirmed that in the north of the country and in the capital people are regularly detained. He said that names and details of all prisoners would be published.

At a news conference in November, the chief of state security, Lenin Cerna, said that between August and October, 180 rebels had been captured while the exiles had "kidnapped" 47 Nicaraguans and taken them to Honduras.

The Nicaraguan Human Rights Commission said it had a list of 280 persons arrested by the government for supposed counterrevolutionary activities between March and October.

More than 550 people have reportedly been killed this year on both sides of the border.

In the last five months, the army says, it has destroyed three rebel camps of more than 100 people each in the thick forests northeast of here. According to an army spokesman, the number of small groups of rebels infiltrating the countryside has grown.

Despite subsidized prices, £3 (\$4.80) for each 11.2-pound (51-ki-

logram) bag of coal and £29.32 (\$46.91) per 44-gallon (160-liter) drum of kerosene — the cost is still high compared with peat.

Britain's civil commissioner on the islands, former Governor Sir Rex Hunt, has said the administration cannot afford the present level of subsidies.

Les Cletheroe, 76, one of the oldest peat cutters, is impatient with islanders who want to wait a

year before going back to their bogs.

"This is really the year to go back and cut," he said. "You can spot anything suspicious in the grass now, but next year, when it's all overgrown, you won't be able to trust them when they say it's okay."

After walking shoulder-to-shoulder through cleared areas, the engineers declared about 75 percent of the peat bogs safe. But many of the 1,800 islanders remain wary about venturing out.

"Probably 50 or 60 have come to us to ask about their bog and we tell them if they're clear," said Major John Quinn, commander of the Royal Engineers squadron.

"Sometimes they seem a bit nervous anyway, and then we offer to send an engineer out with them the first time. Usually, they accept. We've made about 24 such trips already."

Many islanders depend on peat for fuel and want to get back to the bogs because of the high cost of substitutes.

After Argentine forces surrendered June 14, the Falklands administration imported coal and kerosene to assist islanders who were running short of peat, mainly because of Argentine pilferage.

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ARTS / LEISURE

'Messiah' Explores Nature of Faith

By Sheridan Morley
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — Martin Sherman's new play, "Messiah," at the Hampstead Theatre is, like his better-known "Bent," largely concerned with the persecution of the Jewish minority. The setting here, however, is not pre-World War II Germany but the Poland of 1662. In that historical setting, Sherman

THE LONDON STAGE

has chosen to tell the remarkable story of the coming of Sabbathai Sevi, a Jew of Spanish origin who at 18 became a Sephardic rabbi and was thereafter widely taken to be a latter-day messiah, at least until he was tactless enough to turn Moslem.

Sabbatai Sevi is not however the star of Sherman's new and much underwritten script. Indeed, he never makes an appearance. Instead we are concerned with one family and specifically one woman who chooses to follow him. Rachel (intelligently and touchingly played by Maureen Lipman) believes in the coming of a second messiah, because the way things are it is the very least that she and her people deserve.

In the aftermath of a Cossack massacre, life for the Jews in Poland has become for neither the first nor the last time impossible, and the importance of this messiah is not in who or what he may be but in the alternatives he can offer to an untenable reality.

This much we learn from Rachel herself, who throughout the evening addresses us and her own personal unseen deity much after the fashion of Tevye in "Fiddler on the Roof," only without the songs. We also learn that her scarred skin and gashed teeth have kept her unwed, that she is still guardian of a dumbstruck mother, and that she is thinking of an engagement to an elderly fruit merchant (Clive Swift).

It is in fact during their wedding that news is brought of the messiah: The aging husband attempts to fly to Jerusalem by jumping off a nearby roof and is killed in the experiment, leaving Rachel free to

set off with his nephew (Jack Klaff), to whom she has always been attracted, in search of the great leader, who rapidly restores her mother's speech and ordains that the eating of pork is no sin.

The messiah is therefore, all in all, a good thing, at least until he turns Moslem and causes the suicide of the devout nephew. But Rachel is left alive and uncaring. So he may not be the messiah, but has he not improved her life, caused her to travel and fall in love and be able once again to talk to her mother? Was he not, in other words, some sort of a messiah even if he wasn't the kosher one?

But the play is not a historical or religious inquiry into the existence of that particular Jewish leader. It is a study of Rachel, of her faith and of her need to believe, and what makes it such a rare theatrical evening is the way that Lipman's performance carries us through some often sketchy writing and abrupt changes of location to bring us back at the end face to face with her own religious doubts.

It is a play about the nature of faith, about the existence of an outwardly evident religion necessary to all, and most of all it is a play about Rachel coming to terms with an incomprehensible world in which messiahs suddenly go to work for sultans. It's a play about fanaticism, about the narrowness of any orthodox religious belief when compared to the breadth of the human spirit, and about the contrast between an unashamedly modern heroine gossiping to us in the audience while also trying to deal with age-old historical and doctrinal mistakes.

What makes "Messiah" so special, and its unenthusiastic reception by London critics so depressing, is that here for once is a young (American) writer prepared to take on a two-hour, two-act evening, themes of life and death, religion and humanity, of the broadest possible scale. That and his talent for good, acid, black jokes continue to make Sherman an admirable if underrated writer, and Ronald Eyre's Hampstead production is a masterpiece of small-stage energy and economy.

Alice in Westminster: A Lewis Carroll Tableau

By Graham Heathcote
The Associated Press

LONDON — Poets Corner in Westminster Abbey is to commemorate Lewis Carroll, who created a knowing little girl named Alice to wander through worlds of make-believe and fantasy in Victorian England.

A memorial stone to the man who wrote "Alice's Adventures in Wonderland" and "Through the Looking-Glass" will be unveiled following the evensong service in the abbey on Friday, in the 150th anniversary year of the writer's birth.

For the abbey authorities and

sponsors of the memorial, the assertions of some modern writers that Carroll was sexually attracted to little girls cut no ice. John Betjeman, the poet laureate, is among the sponsors who convinced the abbey that Carroll is worthy of respect and will enjoy lasting fame.

"We completely disregard that gossip," Lindsay Fulcher, a London librarian and secretary of the Lewis Carroll Society, said.

"I see all that as a sensationalist, post-Freudian view of the man. Anyone who knows anything about the Victorian social structure and Victorian attitudes, knows that children were the symbols of purity, especially in the rigorous 'high society' of Oxford."

Carroll, whose real name was Charles Lutwidge Dodgson, was the son of a clergyman and never married. For nearly 30 years he was a mathematics lecturer at Christ Church, Oxford. Alice Liddell, who inspired the Alice of the stories, was the daughter of the college's dean.

Carroll was a brilliant photographer of children, as well as being a mathematician, storyteller, poet and writer on logic. His preference for photographing little girls, some with not much on, led to speculation in the 1960s that he may have been a secret, if somewhat tame, pervert.

When Carroll began composing the adventures of his imaginary Alice for Alice Liddell on July 4, 1862, they were with her two sisters and a clergyman friend in a rowboat. Carroll was 30 and Alice Liddell was only 7.

"Mrs. Liddell gave famous parties and rubbed shoulders with royalty. I cannot believe there was any hanky-panky between her daughters and a man in the employment of the university and very much under the dean's eye and thumb," Fulcher said.

"And there is nothing in the letters of Carroll to his family and friends to suggest anything like it. Getting away from smut, the question of a possible roman-



Photographer Dodgson, better known as Lewis Carroll.

tic attachment has yet to be resolved: did Carroll want to marry Alice Liddell or not?

"I think not. He was a born bachelor who delighted in the company of children and, in a way, was a child himself."

The Lewis Carroll Society pressed for the abbey memorial for five years. "There is a waiting list. The abbey agreed now because this is the anniversary year and the abbey dean, the Very Rev. Edward Carpenter, will conduct the service," Fulcher said.

Why a Carroll Society?

"After Shakespeare, he is the most translated writer of English fiction — 20 editions of 'Alice' in the Soviet Union alone. I have it in Norwegian, Gregg shorthand and Esperanto," the librarian said.

The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations includes 106 sayings from Carroll's poems, stories, riddles and letters, like "Curiouser and

and curioser" and "There's nothing like eating hay when you're faint," in the two Alice books.

The society, founded in 1969 to study his life and work, has 350 members in Britain, France, Japan, Spain and the United States. The Netherlands has its own society and expected in London for the ceremony are the president of the North American Lewis Carroll Society, David Schafer of Silver Spring, Maryland. And his wife Maxine, the secretary.

Schafer is believed to have the world's largest collection of film material of the Alice stories.

The memorial stone will be in the abbey floor, close to those commemorating Byron, T.S. Eliot and Henry James.

Carroll, born at Daresbury, Cheshire, on Jan. 27, 1832, died at Guildford, Surrey, where he is buried, on Jan. 14, 1898.



Alice

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HOTELS & INNS WORLDWIDE

Divorced Parents: Holiday Dilemmas

By Georgia Dulca
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Ten-year-old Peter wants a video game for Christmas. His father would like to buy him one, but his mother says absolutely not. Such domestic agreements emerge every year at this time, and, somehow, couples manage to resolve them. What complicates the holiday for this family and others like it is that Peter's parents are divorced.

Holiday time can be a confusing and painful period for divorced parents and children. It is no wonder that even embattled couples try to postpone their separations until after the first of the year. Despite personal differences, parents want children to have one more Christmas or one more Hanukkah before the family circle is broken.

Sooner or later, however, the parents must grapple with the many questions the holidays pose: Who will be with the children? How will the other parent survive? What about presents? And two sets of grandparents? And teenagers who resent having parents plan their holidays?

In the counseling of divorced parents and their children, professionals have developed a number of approaches to these problems. Some — but not all — require a measure of cooperation between the parties.

Take the video-game case. Dr. Richard A. Gardner, a child psychiatrist, who cited this example, insists that such issues can be resolved even though the mother and father disagree. The key lies in understanding that divorced parents may set different rules and that children will respect those rules.

One solution, the psychiatrist suggests, would be for the father to buy the game and keep it at home. The mother could then tell Peter: "Your father and I just don't agree. Video games are O.K. once in a while, but I don't want you to get hooked. In my house you can't plug your Atari into the TV set."

As for presents, ideally the mother and father would agree on a list of suitable ones and divide the list, which avoids duplication and worse competition.

"If one parent is more affluent, he or she would do well to cool it," Gardner advises. "Presents should not be used as a lure or as proof of greater affection."

Where will the child spend the holiday? This is less of an issue in Jewish families because, as a mother noted: "Hanukkah is a divorced parent's dream. It runs for eight days." There is only one Christmas Day, though, and separation agreements usually specify where a child will be Dec. 25. This does not necessarily mean the other parent will always honor the agreement or that the child will like the idea.

One Long Island mother told Dr. Liane Leighton, a school psychologist who leads discussion groups for children of divorce, that she might not allow her daughter to visit her father in Florida, as planned.

"He's behind on the support money," the mother said. "Why send her down there so he can play daddy on Christmas?"

Mindful that holidays tend to heighten differences between divorced parents, Dr. Leighton advised the woman to use a lawyer, not the child, to get her support payments. She also offered some advice to fathers who do not have custody of their children:

"Sometimes the father wants the kids to celebrate with his girlfriend and her kids. It would be nice if he could spend some time alone with his own children on this day so they wouldn't feel they're sharing his love with another child."

Legal contracts seem to fall apart when teenagers enter the picture. Teen-agers look forward to being with peers on holidays, of course, especially when they have been away at school. While they should be expected to put in an appearance at family gatherings, the professionals say, weight should be given to their wishes, and plans should be flexible.

The saddest situation is that of the absent parent, typically the father, who has chosen or been compelled to drop out of the child's life. The suggestion from the pro-

U.S. Films in Brief

CAPSULE reviews of films recently released in the United States:

Ken Finkleman's "Airplane II" tells the story of the first flight of the lunar shuttle and its odd mix of passengers, including Julie Hagerty as the air hostess, Robert Hays as the pilot, Lloyd Bridges and Peter Graves, with appearances by William Shatner, Raymond Burr, Chuck Connors and countless others. Vincent Canby of The New York Times says of the film, "Even though most of the gags are too familiar or too dumb to be hilarious, 'Airplane II' is too good-natured to be a serious irritant."

According to Janet Maslin of The New York Times, Walter Hill's "48 Hours" is "positively witty and warm-hearted compared with his other work." The film, about a detective (Nick Nolte) who befriends a black convict (Eddie Murphy), has "plenty of vicious fighting and a staccato, exciting pace," says Maslin.

According to Vincent Canby of The New York Times, Richard Donner's new comedy "The Toy," is "a remake of an especially wit-

lessness, similarly titled, 1979 French comedy" about a business tycoon's spoiled son who is told he can have anything in his father's department store and decides to take the janitor, who turns out to be a newspaper reporter, turned playmate, then teaches the

I Pare
Dilem

INSIGHTS

Examining the Paradox of Eastern Europe

Instability, Unrest Are Fruits of Command Economy Imposed by Stalin

By Michael Dobbs

Washington Post Service

WARSAW — The communist system in Eastern Europe rests on two pillars: military conquest and revolution. After liberating the region from Nazi occupation in World War II, the Kremlin engineered sweeping economic and social changes in order to consolidate its own political domination.

It is thus a remarkable paradox that the Stalin-style model of the command economy, which Stalin imagined would help to keep his newly acquired empire quiet, has instead become a cause of recurrent instability and social unrest.

For all its harshness, Stalin's "revolution from above" transformed the face of what used to be a predominantly backward part of Europe. Homes, roads and factories sprung up out of the debris of war. Millions of people migrated from the depressed countryside to the new industrial towns. For three decades, the Soviet bloc boasted some of the highest economic growth rates in the world.

Yet today the system is viewed widely as a failure by the very people it was most designed to benefit: the workers. Shortages of food and other basic consumer items are proliferating throughout the Soviet bloc. Privilege and corruption are rampant, despite 35 years of socialism. Young married couples wait an average of 15 years for an apartment of their own. Standards of public health and work safety, the main concern of the welfare state, are sloppy at best.

Here lies the background to the recurrent explosions of discontent in Eastern Europe: East Germany 1953, Hungary 1956, Czechoslovakia 1968, Poland 1956, 1970, 1976 and 1980. There have, in addition, been local revolts, pushed up at the time by the authorities, such as in Romania's Jiu Valley in August 1977, when 35,000 miners struck for three days against poor living conditions.

Crises of Capitalism

For years, the citizens of the people's democracies were encouraged by their rulers to believe that socialism would protect them from the "cyclic crisis of capitalism." Now that claim evokes only hollow laughter. Instead, Poles, Czechoslovaks and Romanians ask themselves in mock despair: "Have we reached real communism yet or is this going to get worse?"

Growth rates have dwindled to zero all over the Soviet bloc. In the case of Poland, the obvious candidate for economic collapse, industrial production has slumped for four years in succession — and is now back somewhere at the level of the early 1970s.

With the exception of Hungary and Bulgaria, none of the countries that make up this once rich agricultural region can feed itself. A net exporter of grain not so long ago, Poland is now a recipient of international food aid.

Czechoslovakia, which used to have the reputation of being the workshop of Central Europe, has difficulty selling its machine tools to the West.

Rationing, abolished elsewhere in Europe

soon after the war, has reappeared in Poland, Romania and even parts of Yugoslavia. As a special treat this Christmas, Poles will receive an additional allowance of two pounds (one kilogram) of sugar, a bar of soap and a pound of detergent. Children under the age of 18 are

effects of the oil price rises in the early 1970s by guaranteed deliveries of cheap Soviet energy. The price of Soviet oil is, however, gradually catching up with that charged by OPEC — and supply is falling short of demand.

The Soviet bloc's present predicament can be traced back to 1968 — and the suppression of the Czechoslovak reform movement known as the "Prague Spring." Traumatized by that experience, Communist Party leaders drew the conclusion that economic reform carried too many political risks. They decided instead to buy social peace by improving the lot of the ordinary consumer.

Anti-Reform Trend

In the short term, the least painful way of increasing consumption was to borrow money from the West. Hard-currency debts of the Soviet bloc rose from a few million dollars in 1968 to a combined total of \$80 billion this year.

The anti-reform trend of the 1970s was felt even in Hungary, the only Soviet bloc country to have introduced free market mechanisms into the economy successfully. In 1973, the Hungarian leader, Janos Kadar, was forced to sacrifice some of the most prominent advocates of the "New Economic Mechanism" in order to save what he could of their ideas. Among those dropped from the Hungarian Politburo was Rezo Nyers, who had earned the title "father of the Hungarian economic reform."

Interviewed in Budapest, Mr. Nyers was very critical of what he called "the erroneous economic policy" followed in Hungary and other Soviet bloc countries in the late 1970s.

"The strategy of relying on Western credits without economic reform failed. Experience has shown that credits are not well used in a centralized economy because there is no efficient mechanism for allocating resources," Mr. Nyers explained.

Mr. Nyers, who now heads an economic research institute, criticized "the slogan of technocracy" that swept through the Soviet bloc in the 1970s — notably in Poland under Edward Gierk.

"It was assumed that technology could solve all our problems. This view has now been proved wrong. In order to produce progress, technology must be accompanied by greater democracy and managerial decentralization."

A recent study by Poland's Supreme Board of Control into the purchase of 44 foreign licenses between 1971 and 1980 concluded that only three were economically justified. The remainder were attributable to the personal whims of Polish leaders, large bribes from Western companies or sheer bureaucratic incompetence.

Mismanagement on Grand Scale

The notion behind buying the licenses was that Polish factories would be able to earn valuable hard currency by selling some of their products to the West. In fact, most of the Polish products turned out to be substandard and unsaleable on Western markets, particularly at a time when the West was in recession. Dozens

of projects — from the manufacture of golf carts and hunting rifles to color television sets and cranes — went uncompleted.

Cases of economic mismanagement on the grand scale abound throughout the Soviet bloc. In the 1970s, Romania devoted enormous resources to building a huge oil-processing industry — much of which is lying idle following a forced cutback in oil imports. Romanian motorists now have to wait in line for up to two days to buy gasoline, and street lighting has been reduced to a minimum to save fuel.

Economic failure in Eastern Europe has created a huge extra financial burden for the Soviet Union. Western economists differ on the size of Moscow's annual subsidy to its East European allies, but they all agree that it is increasing yearly.

Soviet trade subsidies to Eastern Europe were estimated at more than \$21 billion in 1980 by Wharton Economic Forecasting Associates of Washington. Since then, the Kremlin has had to delve even deeper into its hard-currency reserves in order to help bail out Poland.

Along with most other independent experts, Mr. Machowski believes that Eastern Europe has ceased being economically profitable to the Soviet Union in the late 1950s. It was during this period that the Soviet leaders, under pressure from events in Poland and Hungary, agreed to renegotiate the grossly unfair trading pact that had been imposed on Eastern Europe by Stalin.

The Soviet Union is one of the rare historical examples of an "imperial metropolis" that exports cheap raw materials to its "colonies" — and is used by them in return as a dumping ground for shoddy industrial goods. This reversal of normal imperial logic has led some observers to predict that, sooner or later, the Kremlin will be forced to look for ways of reducing the economic strain on its resources.

In an interview in early 1980, a Yugoslav Communist Party leader, Alexander Grljic, forecast major changes in the Soviet bloc. He said he believed that they would come about peacefully and gradually, because "the Soviets are looking for greater economic independence while the satellites are seeking greater political autonomy."

The premises of Mr. Grljic's argument are still valid. The Polish crisis has shown, however, that there are limits to the political concessions that the Kremlin is prepared to make for the sake of economic gain. Territorial security is a priority, almost an obsession, that overrides all others.

Fortunately for Moscow, the failure of the command economy has had contradictory political effects in Eastern Europe.

On the one hand, it has created centrifugal pressures within the Soviet empire by fueling popular unrest with the communist system. On the other, it also has acted as a cohesive force by making individual governments more dependent than ever on Soviet subsidies.

Next: Despite three and a half decades of communist rule and many common problems, Eastern Europe is not a monolithic unit.

United Press International
Youths find little to do in the quiet streets of Ho Chi Minh City.

In Ho Chi Minh City, Poverty and Corruption Bring Disillusionment

The writer of this story, a journalist who has covered Far Eastern affairs for many years, last visited Vietnam in July.

By Della Denman
International Herald Tribune

BANGKOK — In the days when Ho Chi Minh City was called Saigon and every other face on the streets was American, Tuoi Mai was a receptionist in a smart travel agency.

Seven years after the Communist takeover, Mai has become a hawker. She squats behind a matchboard tray of cigarettes on the sticky heat of a busy market square, competing with dozens of other unemployed Vietnamese. Money sent by relatives abroad enables them to buy foreign cigarettes on the black market. They sell them at a 20-percent profit.

Mai, an intelligent woman who speaks English, sells two packs a day. Her monthly income of about \$800 dong (\$80 at the official rate, \$8 at the black market rate) supports her and her elderly parents.

Mai accepts her lot cheerfully because she expects to receive an exit visa to join her brother and sister in the United States, once the last few formalities are over.

Life has not been so kind to Mai's closest friend, Kim. Kim was a hotel waitress before the Communist victory of 1975, and she has not been able to find work since. Her daughter, 20, also unemployed, makes wicker baskets that fetch a few dong in a market stall. Her husband, a government driver, and her son, a government clerk, bring in a total of 170 dong a month.

The family would be lost without the monthly government rice rations for all state employees. They are allowed 13 kilograms (28.6 pounds), which costs them 2 dong a kilo in a special state shop. But they have to buy more at 10 dong a kilo in the open market. They can rarely afford meat or fish at 30 to 40 dong a kilo.

Furniture Sold

Their ration book covers vegetables, salt and kerosene, but Kim said the state shop rarely has these items in stock.

"We have never had the capital to join the black market dealers," she said. "A packet of imported cigarettes costs 10 dong."

The family's modest house on the outskirts of Ho Chi Minh City is almost bare of furniture; it has nearly all been sold. Their clothes are patched and repatched. Movies are but a memory, and they cannot enjoy the television or radio they bought before "liberation." The sets broke down and they have no money to get them repaired, even if spare parts were available.

The two women's stories illustrate the two-tier economy in what was South Vietnam. Vietnamese with relatives overseas and dollars coming in live reasonably well. Those like Kim's family, dream of leaving the country but lack sponsors abroad or the money to bribe their way out. "In Saigon you're on the bread line unless you manipulate the system," said Mai.

At the black market, in narrow back streets in the shade of the city's dilapidated French colonial buildings, jobless middle-class Vietnamese, lawyers and doctors, try to sell books, porcelain and jewelry to raise \$1,200 bribe for an exit visa or the \$2,000 cost of a hazardous boat trip across the South China Sea.

They are sandwiched between veteran traders who sold stolen American PX goods in Saigon's war days and now sell Japanese electrical equipment, cameras, watches and liquor. Most of the things come from the

government's import-export shops. Money from relatives and friends abroad can be exchanged there for imported items, which are resold at 10 times the price. The government encourages the black market to bring in foreign exchange and circulate much-needed consumer goods.

Lobster on the Menu

The city's few remaining French-style cafés and restaurants are patronized by a surprising number of Vietnamese, who pay the equivalent of a day's government wages for a beer and a month's government salary for a meal. The customers are officials who have learned to waive any restriction for a price, and former merchants, many Chinese, who have made small fortunes dealing in foreign currency, contraband and property left behind by emigres.

The restaurant owners pay a monthly tax of 5,000 to 6,000 dong. Many of their menus offer lobster, fine French wines and cognac, as if nothing has changed since the days when American money was pouring into South Vietnam.

Outwardly the city has not changed much. It still resembles a seedy French provincial town. But, despite the new breed of opportunists, the old brash self-confidence is gone. In its place is a sad hopelessness.

The deafening Honda motorbikes and cheery little Renault taxis have disappeared because of gasoline rationing. The only sound along the tree-lined boulevards is the clack of dozens of bicycle wheels and the occasional strident cry of a street hawker.

The raucous neon-lit bars are closed. The prostitutes, cripples and drug addicts have been sent to rehabilitation centers or new "economic zones." The only beggars left are urchins clutching baskets of peanuts who crowd around foreigners asking for dollars and old clothes. Many of them are Americans who have grown into attractive teenagers.

Poverty, unemployment and food shortages have made the southerners resentful of their northern rulers. Northern government officials used to a spartan existence in Hanoi, regard Ho Chi Minh City as an Aladdin's cave. The southerners see only the restrictions. They are afraid of the secret police and dare not talk to foreigners or listen to foreign broadcasts, both are illegal. Western publications and pop music are banned. Mail is censored and takes months to arrive.

Young Discontented

Young people in particular feel they have been denied freedom of choice and a future.

Dr. Duong Quyet Hoa, a former Viet Cong health minister and now director of a pediatrics hospital, said much of the government's political education was aimed at motivating young people. "But the political messages which raised the peasants before do not work with students," she said. "Young intellectuals question propaganda. There is a danger of the regime becoming dogmatic."

Young people are told that socialism is pure, yet they see corruption among government officials from both north and south. Some offenders are punished but the authorities do not probe too far for fear of touching the highest ranks.

Dr. Ho said she could recall the excitement in the city when the war ended and the Communists took over. "In 1975 all that mattered was liberation. Now that is past and the problems have emerged."

The frustration is aggravated by the hundreds of people who have left Vietnam, and are still leaving, for a better life abroad.

There is no active opposition to the government, but there is indifference and inertia among those impatient with the slow progress. Dr. Ho said, "Many people are disillusioned with the revolution."

Zia's U.S. Trip: Playing for Imagery and Influence

By Richard M. Weintraub

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — A small smile played across the face of Mohammed Zia ul-Haq as the colonial-garbed ceremonial sash and drum unit stepped out across the White House lawn last week. The president of Pakistan, a military man through and through, clearly enjoyed his formal welcome to the United States.

Off to the side, two Pakistani radio correspondents described the scene in Urdu, and a Pakistani television crew recorded every move of General Zia and President Ronald Reagan as they stood side by side on a platform with the graceful curves of the South Portico of the White House as a backdrop.

By the time he met with Mr. Reagan, General Zia already had seen Secretary of State George P. Shultz and a host of other high-ranking State Department officials, had met with A.W. Clausen, president of the World Bank, and had held forth for an hour and a half before more than a thousand Pakistanis now living in Washington.

When he left the capital two days later, he could catalog private sessions with four other cabinet members and dozens of congressmen, three major meetings with the American media, two formal dinners and a large reception.

He could also point to one formal public agreement between Pakistan and the United States — an accord creating commissions to further exchanges between the two countries in the scientific, commercial and cultural areas.

No New Treaties

No treaties were signed: no new military or economic assistance programs were established; no major departures in the foreign policies of either country were signaled.

"I can assure you I am departing Washington with a lot of good will and satisfaction," General Zia said as he left for the remainder of his visit to the United States, which was to carry him to New York, Houston, Sacramento and San Francisco, stops heavily laden with

media sessions and meetings with local Pakistani communities.

Good will, satisfaction, a steady flow of media coverage both in the United States and back home — this is the stuff of the modern state visit. Imagery and influence, a sophisticated recognition that few modern-day governments can have their way unencumbered by the facts and images that pour across newspaper and magazine pages and over domestic and international airwaves.

Almost all national leaders who hope to effectively with the United States have come to the realization that contacts with the State Department and White House are not enough. Nor can they insulate the home front and their own political consensus from foreign influences.

Lessons From Gandhi

With an eye to the successful media blitz of Indira Gandhi, India's prime minister, on her state visit just 44 months ago, Pakistani officials mounted a parallel campaign.

If there were differences, they were of substance, reflecting the differing relations the two South Asian countries have with the United States. The perceptions each believed they had to change or reinforce, and the resources they could bring to bear.

India's relations with the United States have been strained in recent years, and Mrs. Gandhi's major goal was to re-establish a degree of balance for Indian foreign policy between Washington and Moscow, to try to break the deadlock over the supply of fuel for the Tarapur reactor and to reinforce the view of India as a bastion of democracy in the Third World.

There no doubt also was an unspoken desire to try to offset the revival of the U.S.-Pakistani relationship, which had been reflected in a \$3.2-billion arms and aid agreement just a few months before.

The one major agreement of her visit to Washington was a deal under which the United States would agree that India would turn to France for its nuclear fuel, bypassing differ-

ences with the United States over India's alleged development of nuclear weapons and refusal to accept full international safeguards for all its nuclear facilities.

In her many meetings with the media and congressmen, Mrs. Gandhi played upon her country's democratic heritage, fending off references to her period of emergency rule as an unfortunate but necessary interlude, and she time and again referred to the "traditional friendship and shared values" of the Indian and American peoples.

In foreign affairs, she questioned why the United States would want to "upset the arms balance" by selling F-16s to Pakistan, not drawing attention to the multibillion-dollar arms purchases her country had made in recent months.

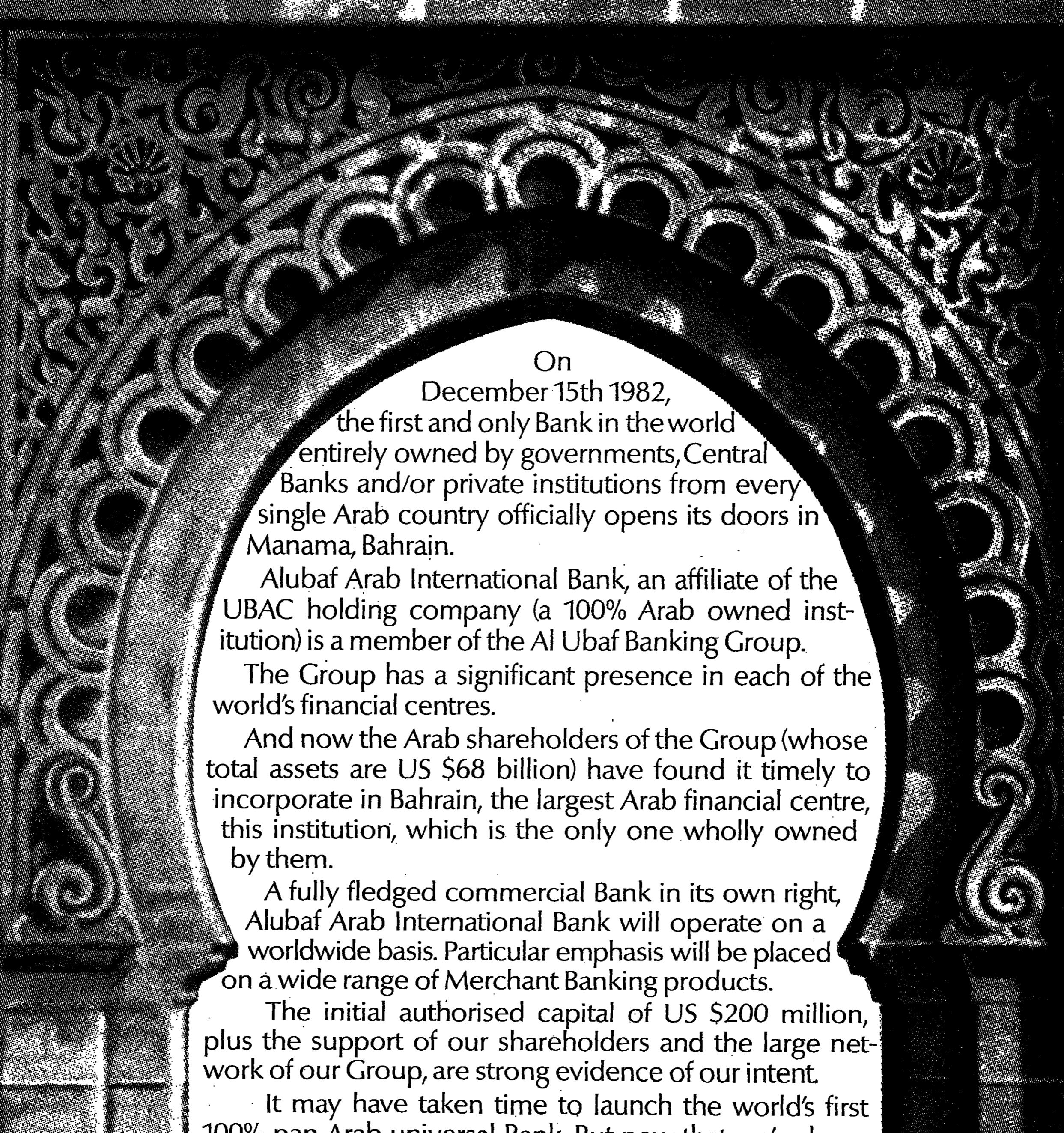
For Pakistan, the problems were different, as were the resources that could be brought to bear in the image-making and image-breaking areas.

"They know what their problems are and they know how they are going to attack them. They've been working at it for months," said a U.S. official who followed the process closely.

The problems, as outlined by the Pakistanis themselves or made clear by the lines of their argument, were:

• The nuclear issue. U.S

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Market Summary, Dec. 14

Market Diaries

	NYSE	A	
	Close	Prev.	Close
■	96.38	71.98	8.6
■	62	768	27.1
■	21.80	31.42	2.3
■	971	797	1.1
■	66.56	22.93	4.4
■	351	374	21.1
■	1,971	1,924	1.1
■	21	21	1.1

Standard & Poors Ind

	High	Low	Chg.
Composite	141.00	136.37	-4.63
Industrials	160.43	153.26	-7.18
Utilities	40.13	38.03	-2.10
Finance	17.10	16.41	-0.69
Trans.	24.33	23.10	-1.23

Odd-Lot Trading in N.Y.

	Buy	Sold
Dec. 12	171,390	45,576
Dec. 10	192,484	48,125
Dec. 9	182,746	48,152
Dec. 8	187,901	52,702
Dec. 7	211,394	60,439
Total	903,515	215,922

Odd-Lot Trading in N.Y.

	Buy	Sales	% Chg.
Dec. 13	174,390	435,575	2
Dec. 10	192,484	428,125	3
Dec. 9	182,746	401,542	3
Dec. 8	167,901	537,202	4
Dec. 7	213,394	604,398	4

Yours, Doug Jones Bond Attorney

Dow Jones Bond Average			
Short			
2,863			
3,580	Bonds	71.19	+0.34
3,645	Utilities	71.27	+0.22
3,288	Industrials	71.11	+0.46
4,571			

1

Tuesday's NYSE Closing Prices

Tables include the net-to-trade prices up to the closing on Wall Street.

U.S. to Challenge U.N. Law

use by Nah

The Associated Press
WASHINGTON — The Justice Department was to file a civil antitrust suit Tuesday challenging the lease by Nabisco Brands of two

corn wet-milling plants to Archer-Daniels Midland, the department said Monday.

drinks and other food.

At the time of the lease, only nine companies produced high-fructose corn syrup in the United States, the four largest accounting for 70 percent of U.S. production. Archer-Daniels was the second largest producer and Nabisco third.

William F. Baxter, head of the antitrust division, said the suit will allege that the lease violated provisions prohibiting contracts that restrain trade and acquisitions that substantially

A department spokesman, Mark T. Sheehan, said the division's investigation began shortly after the accident.

Herald & Tribune

U.S. Steel Lowers Prices by 20% for Most of Its Tubular Products

The Associated Press

PITTSBURGH — U.S. Steel Corp., saying imported tubular products have "significantly threatened the industrial base of the United States," Tuesday cut its prices for tubular products by an average of 20 percent.

At the time, he maintained that the Japanese and Europeans signed an agreement four years ago putting a two-million-ton ceiling on Japanese steel exports to Europe. He said the excess Japanese production was being diverted to the United States.

"We believe that relief is appropriate," he said at the Oct. 25 hearing.

Earlier that month, Senator John Heinz, a Republican from Pennsylvania, charged that documents at the State Department proved the existence of the secret agreement. "We've caught them red-handed," he said at an Oct. 4 briefing. "That agreement is wrong and illegal under every standard of international law."

The steel industry filed a similar petition in 1976, but it was dismissed for lack of evidence in 1978 by Robert Strauss, then trade representative.

"If they're doing it again, I assume it's because they've uncovered

enough evidence to make it stick," said Bill Reinsch, chief legislative assistant to Senator Heinz.

■ **Trade by Broken Hill**

Broken Hill Proprietary will pull out of steelmaking within five years unless the government provides protection from imports, Reuters quoted BHP's managing director, Brian Louon, as saying Tuesday in Sydney.

He told an Industries Assistance Commission examining the steel industry that the company must be guaranteed 85 percent of the domestic market if it is to keep its steel division viable.

BHP is Australia's only raw steel maker and its principal producer of steel products.

The government last August refused a BHP request for additional protection against steel imports, particularly from Japan and South Korea, and maintained tariffs and other restrictions at existing levels.

In late September, BHP announced plans for streamlining its steel plants, with the loss of some 3,000 jobs, in an effort to minimize costs in a division that reported a loss, its first, in the year ended May 31.

The steel industry filed a similar petition in 1976, but it was dismissed for lack of evidence in 1978 by Robert Strauss, then trade representative.

"If they're doing it again, I assume it's because they've uncovered

Swiss Machine Makers Feel Recessions Chill

(Continued from Page 9)

Georg Sulzer, the 38-year-old chief of Sulzer's international division. His father, Georg Sulzer, 72, stepped down as chairman last May to make room for younger managers.

According to industry analysts, the Sulzer company's problems are typical of the Swiss machine-building industry, which is highly automated and specialized as a result of its tradition of technical refinement.

Over the years, the industry has attracted customers needing particular items such as the high-speed looms that Sulzer and others make, the specialized elevators and industrial transport systems built by companies such as Schindler and the precise watch-making equipment turned out by several small, family-owned enterprises.

Today the machinery industry ships about two-thirds of its goods abroad. Nearly 95 percent of Swiss textile machines, the product with the biggest volume, are exported.

The industry accounts for almost half of Swiss exports and roughly 20 percent of its gross national product, while its companies employ 14 percent of the country's total labor force.

In the past, the machinery industry has shown considerable resilience, which in turn has helped

keep Switzerland's whole economy relatively stable. When the demand for diesel power stations in Nigeria slumped, orders for air-conditioning systems from Brazil revived. Or when shipments of fine mechanical instruments to West Germany and France fell, deliveries of looms to the United States took up the slack.

The specialized products have meant high profit margins, and conservative financing cushioned the industry against adversity.

"They had a policy of squirreling reserves that often evoked puzzlement abroad," said Ernst Horst, an economist at the Association of Swiss Machinery Manufacturers in Zurich. "But it meant that the crises of the 1970s were bridged without much impact on jobs. We've always stood in a draft, so we've become pretty resistant to colds."

With Europe's recession in its third year, however, that immunity appears to be cracking. In the end, analysts said, the Swiss are largely dependent on export markets they cannot control.

"It's like the Concorde," a Zurich analyst said. "High technology — but increasingly unprofitable."

For one thing, the Swiss suffered invasions on their exclusivity. As Asian manufacturers, led by the

Japanese, flooded Western markets with less expensive, standardized machinery, competitors from West Germany, Italy or the United States challenged the Swiss for orders for custom machinery.

In addition, the Swiss contend they are losing an unfair battle for financing against countries that, unlike Switzerland, subsidize export credits. Pierre Bourgeaud, the 48-year-old executive who succeeded Georg Sulzer as head of the company last May, told a group of economists in Zurich recently that Sulzer diesel built at a French subsidiary cost an overseas buyer 25 percent less because of French export credit subsidies.

"I cannot avoid the impression," he said, "that the only free competition left is among nationalized and partly nationalized banks. And the greater the debt of the exporting country, the more it flourishes."

To reverse the slide, Sulzer, like many other Swiss companies, has begun to streamline its operations, cutting management jobs to reduce costs and shaking out product lines to concentrate on profitable items.

"When you've lived through some fat years, you get paunchy," Mr. Sulzer commented. "You put on pounds. Well, it's time to get lean again."

Whatever measures they take, however, most Swiss executives are watching the United States, hoping a revival there will lift world trade and revive stagnant export markets.

"Never before has Europe been so dependent on the United States to act as a locomotive," Mr. Sulzer said.

■ **Unemployment Rises**

The government said Tuesday that the Swiss unemployment rate rose by one-fifth last month, with the number of jobless reaching 0.7 percent of the work force, or 20,349. The Associated Press reported from Bern. It was Switzerland's worst unemployment figure since February 1977.

There were 16,185 persons drawing unemployment benefits in October. In November 1981, unemployment came to 0.2 percent. Officials blamed the rise on the worsening economy.

Turkish Banks Cut Rates

The Associated Press

ANKARA — Turkey's leading banks agreed informally Tuesday to reduce interest rates paid on one-year time deposits from 30 percent to 45 percent. The rate is to be 40 percent for six-month deposits.

The Sandinists inherited a \$1.6-billion foreign debt from the deposed Somoza government, and debt has increased by \$1.3 billion because of an influx of funds from multilateral agencies as well as government-to-government loans and trade credits.

Nicaragua To Receive Major Loan

By Alan Riding
New York Times Service

NICARAGUA — A group of foreign banks has agreed to grant Nicaragua \$25 million to \$50 million in short-term trade credits as part of an arrangement to meet a \$40-million interest payment that Friday on Nicaragua's debt, according to Nicaragua's officials.

The credit, the first significant commercial bank loan to Nicaragua since the 1979 Sandinist revolution, was negotiated last week with Bank of America and several other Western banks, the officials said Monday.

"We've always said we were going to pay," a senior official said, "and we will pay, but this loan makes it easier." The official, who asked not to be identified, said that without the loan Nicaragua would not have been able to make Friday's payment. But he added that, even if the loan money is not in hand by then, Nicaragua will still pay on time.

Nicaraguan government officials have attached great importance to the loan. It comes at a time of tense relations between the United States and the Sandinist government. Officials in Managua have charged the Reagan administration with trying to block new credit to Nicaragua, not only from private banks but from such multilateral institutions as the Inter-American Development Bank.

The frantic negotiations in New York that preceded the loan agreement underlined the seriousness of Nicaragua's foreign exchange shortage, which has been brought on by domestic economic and political uncertainty and by the low price of the country's principal agricultural exports on world markets.

Just weeks ago, foreign bankers were predicting that Nicaragua would be unable to make this second interest payment under a timetable worked out with creditors in the United States, Western Europe and Japan when its \$580-million commercial bank debt was renegotiated in October 1980.

"We have suggested that it might be necessary to adjust payments in accordance with the potential of the Nicaraguan economy, and that Nicaragua's ability to pay depends on the international aid that it receives," Luis Enrique Figueroa, the president of the central bank, cautioned last month.

The Sandinists inherited a \$1.6-billion foreign debt from the deposed Somoza government, and debt has increased by \$1.3 billion because of an influx of funds from multilateral agencies as well as government-to-government loans and trade credits.

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Tuesday's AMEX Closing Prices

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street.

Another important business statistic

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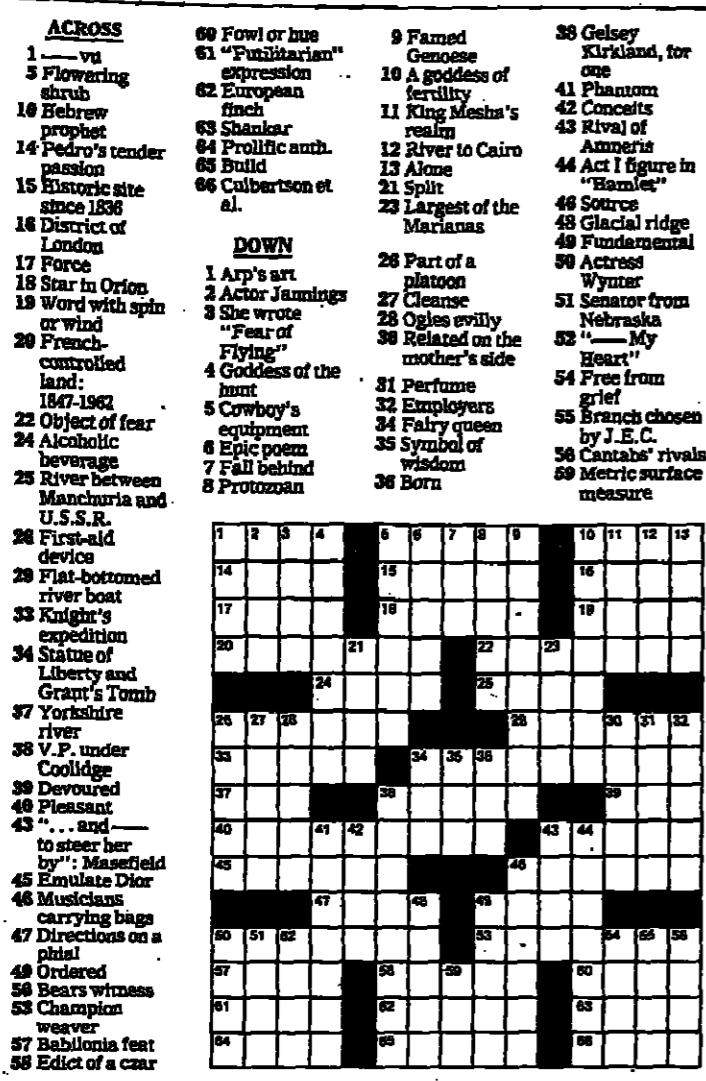
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BUCKLAND	18	19	20	19	20	21
BANGKOK	19	20	21	20	21	22
BEIJING	20	21	22	21	22	23
BEIRUT	21	22	23	22	23	24
BERLICHAGE	22	23	24	23	24	25
BERLIN	23	24	25	24	25	26
BOSTON	24	25	26	25	26	27
BRUSSELS	25	26	27	26	27	28
BUCHAREST	26	27	28	27	28	29
BUDAPEST	27	28	29	28	29	30
BUEENOS AIRES	28	29	30	29	30	31
CAIRO	29	30	31	30	31	32
CAPE TOWN	30	31	32	31	32	33
CASABLANCA	31	32	33	32	33	34
CHICAGO	32	33	34	33	34	35
COPENHAGEN	33	34	35	34	35	36
COSTA DEL SOL	34	35	36	35	36	37
DAMASCUS	35	36	37	36	37	38
DUBLIN	36	37	38	37	38	39
EDINBURGH	37	38	39	38	39	40
FLORENCE	38	39	40	39	40	41
FRANKFURT	39	40	41	40	41	42
GENEVA	40	41	42	41	42	43
HANOVER	41	42	43	42	43	44
HELSINKI	42	43	44	43	44	45
HONG KONG	43	44	45	44	45	46
HOUSTON	44	45	46	45	46	47
ISTANBUL	45	46	47	46	47	48
JERUSALEM	46	47	48	47	48	49
LAS PALMAS	47	48	49	48	49	50
LIMA	48	49	50	49	50	51
LISBON	49	50	51	50	51	52

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A Princely Polar Visit

for "used her charms as Cleopatra on Julius Caesar. If she succeeds in using her charm here in this area to bring peace, I'm sure we'll be very happy." Asked by an Israeli Radio interviewer if that meant the Foreign Ministry does not respect the "Taylor initiative," Ben Meir replied: "Really, who could reject Elizabeth Taylor?"

Katherine Hepburn, 73, and her secretary were slightly injured when their car struck a pole on a rural road near her Connecticut home in Old Saybrook, police said. Hepburn and her secretary, Phyllis Wibourne, were first taken to a local clinic and then transferred to Hartford Hospital. A hospital spokesman said the actress underwent surgery for a fractured right ankle, and Wibourne, 73, was treated for a broken wrist, cracked ribs and a minor spinal injury. He said both women were resting comfortably, but would remain in the hospital for a few days. Hepburn, who won her latest Academy Award for "On Golden Pond" in 1981, lost control of her car on snow and ice about 11 a.m. and struck a telephone pole, police said.

The Israel Philharmonic Orchestra marked the centenary of its founder's birth with the first of its concerts featuring some of the world's greatest violinists. Zubin Mehta, musical director of both the Israel and the New York Philharmonic orchestras, conducted the concert, which included solo performances by the violinists Isaac Stern, Itzhak Perlman and Shlomo Mintz, a 25-year-old Russian-born Israeli. The centenary celebration honors the birthday of Bronislaw Huberman, who was born Dec. 19, 1882, in Poland. A celebrated violinist, he founded the then Palestine Symphony Orchestra in 1936. It became a refuge for persecuted Jewish musicians from Europe. Huberman died in 1947. The violinist Nathan Milstein flew to New York from a concert engagement in Pittsburgh, just in time to receive the Musical of the Year award at the home of Judith Dow, the chemicals heiress. The award was presented by Shirley Fleming, editor of Musical America magazine, which will carry Milstein's picture on the cover of its New Year's issue.

OBSERVER

The Penicillin Solution

By Russell Baker

NEW YORK — Speaking as one who looks forward to many years of happiness on Social Security, I want to urge the increasingly surly youth of America to stop whining about their obligation to finance me through old age and start thinking about what they must do to make their own future happy.

A young whippersnapper writing in The Washington Monthly complains that we senior citizens, having squandered the nation's prodigious wealth in our salad days, now want to force his generation to submit to soul-crushing taxation so that we may continue our profligate ways. Rot and balderdash.

Of course we squandered the United States' wealth prodigiously during America's golden age of plenty. One of the things we squandered is on college educations for whippersnappers so they could learn to write well enough to flail away in high dudgeon in magazines like The Washington Monthly.

If he had studied the history of science, he might have written more coolly about the Social Security system's breaking down. The reason we are in the present pickle is that science, never willing to let well enough alone, wrecked the actuarial tables on which the Social Security system was built.

In the 1930s when it was up to both penicillin and the birth-control pill were undreamed of. If science hadn't dreamed them up years later, the robust death and birth rates on which the system was based would still be holding down the number of people eligible for Social Security while grinding out the multitudes of young taxpayers needed to finance the program at very low tax rates.

If today's young people are really interested in their own future with Social Security, they ought to quit writing magazine articles about spendthrift grandparents and start agitating for sensible adjustments in the system.

It isn't hard to see what has to be done. First, the law has to be revised to say that every young person entering the work force is entitled to Social Security when he reaches 65, but only if he promises never to use penicillin — or any of its newer antibiotic cousins — to get there.

If he weakens along the way and says, "Give me the penicillin, doc," very well, he can have penicillin. The law must not be Draconian. When he takes it, though, his name will be instantly stricken from the rolls of those eligible for Social Security at 65.

If he has the strength of character to abstain from antibiotics throughout his lifetime, thus preserving the actuarial probabilities on which the system was built in 1935, then it is a lively chance that he will not need Social Security at 65, nor security of any other kind. Thus the program's cost will be reduced by reducing the number of elderly recipients.

Now, I trust no American youth will be so callow as to suggest that the "no penicillin" principle be applied to those who have been in the program from its infancy. We, remember, were given the nation's promise that Social Security would be waiting for us, and not a word was said about having to give up penicillin if we wanted to get the money. What's more, we have a tougher lobby than whippersnappers have.

The second legal revision must deal with the birth-control pill. This economic monstrosity created by science has severely reduced the production of new taxpayers required to keep the Social Security tax within reasonable bounds.

Does today's typical American whippersnapper want to spend his old age wallowing in luxury while somebody's grandchild coughs up 80 percent of his paycheck to pay for it? I think better of American youth than that, but still, it never hurts to reinforce good intentions with National Geographic.

These new people entering the Social Security system should be notified that use of the pill or intimate relations with any user there-

.

of will mean forfeiting entitlement to benefits at 65. Alternatively, people who chose to use the pill might still collect benefits if they agreed to pay a Social Security tax 10 times the rate levied on nonusers. This would make up for the revenue they deny the program by their failure to create five new taxpayers.

In closing, let me remind our country's splendid youth that whiners never win and urge them never to forget who sent them to college.

New York Times Service

The Flowering Of Enid Haupt

By Charlotte Curtis
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Enid Annenberg Haupt, appeared at a lunch party not long ago in an elderly and beloved black Chanel suit with leopard's head earnings and a domed-topaz ring, and, as usual, she was thinking about flowers. She had brought her hostess a cluster of giant, white calla lilies, orchids, which she urged her to put "in any old Perrier bottle. They make perfect vases." And before long, flowers being essential in Haupt's rather special life, she was describing the difficulties in raising them.

"You can have thousands of orchid seeds," she said, "each

Sharing, whether of a favorite book, a plant, insights from a museum trip or her fortune, gives her pleasure and, since she is not in the least gregarious, sharing is her way of participating while keeping the world at arm's length.

bred and cultivated exactly the same way, and you're lucky if you get 60 healthy plants."

New York has "gardeners" and gardeners, and Haupt, now 76, is one of the latter, a woman who digs in the earth. And in the elegant enclave in which she travels, a world that delights in lilies, fuchsias, anemones, peonies and orchids, hers is a more eclectic taste.

She dotes on her fall chrysanthemums. In December, she banks her flat with poinsettias. In January, in Palm Beach, ferns, palms, orchids and pink poinsettias await. And wherever she is, there are blooming roses, lilies and Rieger begonias.

Haupt is better known for her French Impressionist art collection, her mostly 18th-century French penthouse, her besti-

"Nature is my religion," she often says, which only partly explains her \$10-million gift to the New York Botanical Garden. Sharing, whether of a favorite book, a plant, insights from a museum trip or her fortune, gives her pleasure and, since she is not in the least gregarious, sharing is her way of participating while keeping the world at arm's length.

She has no illusions about why she became editor and publisher of Seventeen magazine. The Astor family owned it. But the job, which she held for 17 years until she stepped down in 1970, was difficult, not at all ceremonial. She kept discovering how much she didn't know and how much she wanted to.

Last year, when she gave \$1 million to the New York Public Library, she said: "Books are the most important thing in life besides nature," and she meant it.

She turned an apartment closer into a library and, over the years, stacked it floor to ceiling. The excess spills over the doorway. If she is at least partly what she reads, and she thinks that's as good a definition as any, Haupt is virtually apolitical, though authoritatively exact on such matters as the way in which Cézanne painted and what Cicero said to Caesar and why. She rarely reads a novel, does on anything having to do with aesthetics and says, quite matter of fact, she couldn't live without the National Geographic.

"I adore programs on animals, insects and nature," she said. "I love nature in all its forms, but I don't need to travel to see them. After almost 30 years of the National Geographic, and Channel 17 (the PBS station), I think I know. When friends go somewhere, I can usually tell them what to see. I've seen the best. When I was younger, my husband and I sailed every fall on the United States on the last sailing before Labor Day. What I haven't seen traveling I've seen here at home."

Haupt is better known for her French Impressionist art collection, her mostly 18th-century French penthouse, her besti-



Enid Haupt, The New York Times

Enid Haupt: "I've seen the best."

dressed listing and exquisite jewels. They, too, define her.

"Houses are reflections of people," she said, "but I can think things are horrendous and love them."

Years ago, when she did her first house, she had the celebrated J.H. Robsjohn-Gibbings create some furniture for her. The designer was in his classical Greek period, and, as Haupt recalls, "The chic of it was marvelous — all rattan and veneered light wood, cutouts wrapped in rattan, mad. He bleached everything. Everybody who saw it said, 'Dear Enid. She's bleached everything but her hair.'"

Since taste can always be refined and expanded, Haupt once asked Robsjohn-Gibbings, "How do you really tell a good reproduction from the real thing?" and he answered, "Just look across the room. Your eye will tell you."

That may work for Haupt, but it's almost meaningless for most people. "I know," Haupt said. Yet beyond serious study, involv-

ing books and hours in a first-class museum, she has no advice. Nor is taste the measure by which she judges others.

"I was tall as a child, I weighed 90 pounds and I had braids. I always wanted to be accepted by my beautiful older sisters. I decided to be special. I vowed I'd learn a new word every day. I thought if I did, my sisters would have to say, 'What does that mean?'

One of her words, she said, was "extant" and she used it in a discussion of a distant relative. "I said, 'Is he still extant?'" And my sister said, "What?" and I said, "Stay around, orbiting." And my sister had to go to the dictionary to look it up. I was still the tall girl with the braids. But it had been fun. I can't imagine living without a sense of humor, that wonderful ability to laugh at oneself. That and a mind, an inquiring mind. I'm not athletic and I don't rush around to things, but I do exercise my mind."

PRINCE EDWARD has become the first member of the British royal family to visit the South Pole. New Zealand officials said the 18-year-old prince flew on Saturday in a U.S. Navy Hercules transport plane from New Zealand's Scott base on Ross Island to the Amundsen-Scott South Pole base at the southern tip of the earth. He stayed two hours at the polar base, manned by U.S. scientists. Earl Spencer, father of Diana, Princess of Wales, is selling off his family treasures. It is estimated he has sold at least \$3.4 million in holdings, not to mention the artworks handed over to the tax people in lieu of paying inheritance taxes a decade ago. The earl has been selling antique silver, 17th-century furniture, paintings by Van Dyck, Reynolds, Guido Reni, Andrea Mantegna and others. This is causing "conservation" in art circles worried about Britain's artistic heritage, according to The Times of London. The earl has needed money to redo the family's stately home, Althorp, at a cost of at least \$1.275 million. He says Althorp still houses more than 500 paintings. The Times said a 1976 Althorp catalog listed 717 paintings.

The Middle East has lost a com- dian but gained an actress for the Christmas season. Bob Hope will not be able to entertain U.S. Marines in Beirut, but Elizabeth Taylor will visit children in Israel and Lebanon. Hope, 79, who has been entertaining U.S. troops abroad at Christmas since World War II, was invited to Lebanon this year by the Marines, in Beirut on a peacekeeping mission. Hope's problem is an inflammation in his right eye, caused by a small vein sending blood over the retina. Currently making a television special, he will see his doctor, then take some well-deserved rest, his publicist said. Meanwhile, Taylor announced that she will be in the Middle East around Christmas as part of a 10-day peace mission organized by Israel. Today to visit children in orphanages and hospitals, Taylor said she hoped "to try and bring peace between Israel and Lebanon." She gave no details, but was quoted as saying she would meet with Prime Minister Menachem Begin of Israel and President Anwar Gemayel of Lebanon. Yehuda Ben-Meir, deputy foreign minister, said he recalled that in one of her movie roles, Tay-

ler "used her charms as Cleopatra on Julius Caesar. If she succeeds in using her charm here in this area to bring peace, I'm sure we'll be very happy." Asked by an Israeli Radio interviewer if that meant the Foreign Ministry does not respect the "Taylor initiative," Ben Meir replied: "Really, who could reject Elizabeth Taylor?"

Katherine Hepburn, 73, and her secretary were slightly injured when their car struck a pole on a rural road near her Connecticut home in Old Saybrook, police said. Hepburn and her secretary, Phyllis Wibourne, were first taken to a local clinic and then transferred to Hartford Hospital. A hospital spokesman said the actress underwent surgery for a fractured right ankle, and Wibourne, 73, was treated for a broken wrist, cracked ribs and a minor spinal injury. He said both women were resting comfortably, but would remain in the hospital for a few days. Hepburn, who won her latest Academy Award for "On Golden Pond" in 1981, lost control of her car on snow and ice about 11 a.m. and struck a telephone pole, police said.

The Israel Philharmonic Orchestra marked the centenary of its founder's birth with the first of its concerts featuring some of the world's greatest violinists. Zubin Mehta, musical director of both the Israel and the New York Philharmonic orchestras, conducted the concert, which included solo performances by the violinists Isaac Stern, Itzhak Perlman and Shlomo Mintz, a 25-year-old Russian-born Israeli. The centenary celebration honors the birthday of Bronislaw Huberman, who was born Dec. 19, 1882, in Poland. A celebrated violinist, he founded the then Palestine Symphony Orchestra in 1936. It became a refuge for persecuted Jewish musicians from Europe. Huberman died in 1947. The violinist Nathan Milstein flew to New York from a concert engagement in Pittsburgh, just in time to receive the Musical of the Year award at the home of Judith Dow, the chemicals heiress. The award was presented by Shirley Fleming, editor of Musical America magazine, which will carry Milstein's picture on the cover of its New Year's issue.

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